

MARSHALL COUNTY REPUBLICAN.

"FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, FREE MEN, FREE KANSAS AND FREMONT."

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A LETTER FROM GOV. REEDER

On the approaching Election of President and the Candidates.

New York City, Sept. 18th, 1856.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

GENTLEMEN:—The letter of your correspondent H., and your editorial comments upon it of the 16th inst., seems in common courtesy to demand a reply.

Your correspondent does not err in saying that I desire the success of the Republican party and the election of their candidate, and that I am ready to contribute any honorable effort to bring it about. This is not the result of my preference as to men, but in spite of it. With Col. Fremont I am unacquainted, I have never seen him, nor had any communication with him, direct or indirect, verbal or written. On the other hand, my feelings of friendship and admiration for Mr. Buchanan, as a man, are of no ordinary character and are strengthened by years of friendly intimacy and reciprocal acts of kindness, uninterrupted to this time by a single misunderstanding or unpleasant feeling; and I would at any time defend him promptly and indignantly against personal attacks upon his reputation. I believe him to be a man of distinguished ability, of high integrity and valuable experience. He is surrounded by, in Pennsylvania by many political friends, whom personally I love and esteem, and to whom I am united by ties of long cherished political and social intimacy, and the loss of whose friendship I should regard as a great calamity. For more than a quarter of a century I have steadily labored with the Democratic party, and never doubted that I should do so during my life. For years I have exerted myself to bring about Mr. Buchanan's nomination. In 1848 and 1852 I was one of those who carried for him the delegates of our district, and was his zealous and ardent supporter. On each occasion I was in the National Convention as one of his delegates.

These ties are exceedingly strong and hard to sever, especially with one who is naturally of a conservative cast, and to change old habits of thought and action, and I have resisted for months the convictions that were urging me to my present declaration. I have sought reasons and arguments to save myself the pain of breaking up old associations and alienating myself from old friends, but all in vain. My love of country and hatred of oppression would not allow my feelings and inclinations either to delude my judgment or still my conscience and I am compelled to forfeit my self respect by committing what I believe to be palpably wrong, or else enroll myself in opposition to the Democratic party.

I see no reasonable hope of justice and sympathy for the people of Kansas in the success of the Democracy. In its ranks, and with the power to control its action, are found the Border Ruffians of Missouri, and their accomplices of the South, who have trampled upon the Constitution and all the essential principles of our Government, robbed Kansas of its civil liberty and rights of suffrage, laid waste its territory with fire and sword, and repudiated even civilization itself.

In its platform I find the enunciation of principles which would put the rope about the necks of men for exercising the constitutional right of petitioning Congress for a State Government, or a redress of grievances for worse than those which led to the war of the Revolution, and a declaration stigmatizing as "resistance to law" the moderate and justifiable self defense of men shamefully and infamously oppressed by ruffian violence and outrage, beyond all human endurance.

I find the whole party of the nation assembled in National Convention, with but one individual dissent, expressing its unqualified admiration of an Administration which has lent itself as the tool and accomplice of all the wrongs inflicted upon Kansas, and by its venality and imbecility brought the country to an intestine war.

I find all its Representatives in Congress, with three individual exceptions, laboring in earnest zeal, by speech and vote, to cover up the iniquities of this Administration and the Border Ruffians of Missouri, and to suppress a fair investigation of outrages which shock both humanity and republicanism, and defy the Constitution and the laws.

I find these same representatives, after the truth was elicited in spite of their efforts, still refusing to relieve the people from a code of laws imposed upon them by a foreign army, and still refusing to admit them into the Union, only for reasons which, in the cases of nine existing States, had been declared untenable and of no account.

I find them disregarding a Free Constitution adopted in a legal, constitutional and time-sanctioned manner, and which no man can doubt to have reflected the will of the people, and supporting a law to produce a substitute, which it is easy to show would have perpetuated in the State Government the usurpation which had by force already seized upon the Government of the Territory.

I find them refusing to make appropriations for the army, unless that army is to be used to enforce a code of laws violative on their face, of the Constitution, enacted by a Legislature in violation of the laws of the United States, and imposed by foreign force upon conquered and subjugated American citizens.

I find them, in a word, steadily abiding by all their Congressional action to make a Slave State in Northern latitudes, and that, too, against the will of its inhabitants.

I find that one Member, who more than

any other stood out against the enslavement of his white fellow citizens, is refused a re-nomination by the Democratic party of this district.

I find in the canvass now going on that the whole tone of their party press is in the same direction. When the first startling intelligence of the outrages in Kansas reached the States, their editors denounced the foul wrong in terms of fitting indignation. It was but a spasmodic effort, however, and in defence to the South and the prevailing sentiment of the party, they have dropped off, one after the other, until now, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there is not a Democratic paper which does boldly to justify and defend the Free State party, and denounce their invaders. In place of encouragement and sympathy for their outraged fellow citizens from the North, there is little else than jeers and ridicule for their oppressed and suffering condition—misrepresentation of their motives and conduct, and a pretended incredulity of the statements and appeals which they send their brethren of the States.

I find their speakers exhibiting the same spirit—some of them ignoring the question entirely; others of them treating it with perversions, misrepresentations, and false issues; and others taking openly the side of the oppressors; but none of them advocating the cause of Kansas, or favoring her admission under the Free State Constitution adopted by her people.

In the public demonstrations and professions of the party, I find banners and devices containing brutal insults, in response to the appeals of that people for protection against unparalelled wrongs, calculated, or no doubt they must be intended, to prepare the masses for a continued refusal of justice and protection, and a relentless persistence in outrage and oppression.

I find all the Democrats South, and a portion of the Democracy of the North, boldly repudiating the Kansas-Nebraska bill, by insisting that slavery has a right to go into the Territories in spite of Congress or the people; and that the inhabitants of the Territories have no right to pass Territorial laws to forbid it, or exclude it. Democratic representatives from Pennsylvania even, in the Senate and the House, hold and proclaim these opinions; while other Representatives from Pennsylvania, with Democratic leaders from other States, declare themselves publicly to be non-committed upon this heresy; the inevitable tendency of which, it is easy to show, will be to prevent almost entirely the formation of any more Free States.

Having originated a movement myself, to aid our people by sending them men and money, and having prosecuted it with the strictest avoidance of party character and a studied neutrality as to the political canvass, and having earnestly asked co-operation of men of all parties, I have failed to enlist in it, to my knowledge, a single Democrat. In the Conventions of Cleveland and Buffalo, called without distinction of party, in furtherance of this enterprise, there was no Democrat present but myself. This cannot have been from any want of generosity or of means, but only in deference to the prevailing tone and sentiment of the party which is enlisted upon the other side of the question. And not only have they abstained from aiding the movement, but in their presses and by their private influence they have endeavored to cripple and retard it by a series of attacks, warning the community against it as reasonable, and declaring that the money would be misapplied—thus endeavoring to prevent contributions even from friends of the measure.

I might go on with this catalogue and enumerate other indications, if necessary, showing that the prevailing tone of the party is hostile to Kansas; but I consider it only necessary to add that what I have said relates not to the North. The South, where the great mass of the party is to be found, makes no pretension, as a whole, to the advocacy of anything but pure Border Ruffianism.

What, then, have the Free State men of Kansas to expect from a Democratic Administration, even if presided over by Mr. Buchanan? If he could be left to act upon his own impulses, untroubled by external influences, and free from pledges and obligations, expressed and implied, the case would be very different. But, unfortunately, this is not so. His election would rightfully be considered a decision against us, whatever may be his own private feelings. His office at Washington, in Kansas and elsewhere, would necessarily, to a large extent, be filled with our enemies. His information would come through a distorted medium, and lastly, he could not aid us without having first made up his mind to be abandoned and varied upon by his own party. The South would charge him with violating his pledges, and turn upon him with the bitterest hostility, and at least a portion of the Northern Democracy would follow their example. He would thus be left without a party to support his Administration unless he should cast himself into the arms of the Republicans. We cannot, it seems to me, either ask or expect him to do this upon a question where party lines are so plainly drawn, before his election. Like all other men in the same situation, he must obey the party settlement on which he is elected. That there are Democrats in Pennsylvania who are full of indignation against the conduct of the South in regard to Kansas I am well aware, and that they would use their influence to redress her wrongs I am well satisfied; but they are too few in proportion to the whole party of the Union to

sustain his Administration in a war with his party. They have as yet been unable to make their opinions appear and be felt in the party, and, of course, cannot do so hereafter. I honor their good intentions, but I cannot believe in their power.

I repeat that I have been forced to these conclusions after no slight struggle with my feelings and inclinations. Should Mr. Buchanan be elected, and his Administration be different from what my judgment compels me to believe, I shall give it my cordial approbation, and my feeble though willing support. As I believe now, I must trust the Democratic party as fully committed to the Southern Secessionism, toward which, for some time past, it has been rapidly tending, and I quit it well assured that my duty to my country demands at my hands this sacrifice of personal feeling.

Very truly yours,

A. H. REEDER.

From the Clin. Gazette.

A COMMENT ON THE PAST ELECTION, FOR THE BENEFIT OF QUID NUNCES.

There are always a large class of persons who are speculating on the future. They want to know "how the thing goes?" There is an interest in this sort of speculation. Some want to go with the majority, some want to bet—a very bad practice in any case. But much the largest number merely wish to indulge their curiosity. To gratify this curiosity, in some measure, we shall make a running comment on the elections of the few past months.

There is a general principle pervading all forecasts, which is true of politics and of all events. In the experience of the past only can we find any material for judging of the future. It is true, that political parties and results constantly change; but each change is foreshadowed by a gradual turning of the current, which is obvious to careful observers. The current now began to change, at the time the tide never goes backward till the tide is full. It is now more than twenty years since the real slave controversy arose—on the presentation of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories. It was attempted to reject these petitions without a hearing. The right of petition, however, was triumphant—by the gallant exertions of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. The controversy continued in the attempt to annex Texas, and its final success, which really lasted eight years—from the Texas Revolution to the annexation in 1845. This was scarcely closed before the Mexican War added an immense new territory to the country, and the controversy was continued in the Wilmot Proviso till 1850, when a new compromise was made, or rather attempted, for that compromise was scarcely acted upon before it was violated by the recent Nebraska Act. Thus for 20 years the controversy on the power and extension of slavery continued. Each of the old parties tried its best to keep this question out of its organization, on the same ground now assumed by such men as CHATTAI, CASE, FILLMORE, and others, that it was dangerous to the Union. They have failed, however, and only succeeded in losing their influence and position. They failed, because the question of freedom or servitude is vital to humanity, and the elements involved in it are negotiable, beyond the power of compromise. It was an attempt to sweep out the tides of the ocean with a broom.

In this whole controversy it will be observed that the Anti-Slavery party has been gradually and uniformly increasing in strength. This fact was clearly foreseen and predicted by Mr. CATWAUGH, who could see no remedy, or as he called it, safety to the institutions of the South, but in what he called State Rights, or practically Nullification; this failed. The Nashville Convention, like that of Hartford before it, failed. The masses of the people in the South prefer Union and Liberty to Slavery and State's Rights.

The fact is, the Anti-Slavery sentiment continued rapidly to rise and gain strength. The right of petition was sustained. General Cass and Squatter Sovereignty were annihilated in 1848—the Whig party was broken up; and the result of Slave power, in the passage of the Nebraska act, ended only in the official ruin of the Democratic party of the South. The year 1845 saw it defeated throughout the Free States; and now, it is at least doubtful whether a President nominated on the pure basis of Freedom, would not be elected and placed in power, making a new era in the history of this country.

Two facts of the past are apparent—First, that the sentiment of Freedom has been constantly deepening and extending, and the other, that it has extended the slave power has been increasing its political threats and personal persecutions.

Such was the general condition of the controversy when the Presidential nominations were made. In the effect of these nominations politicians have been greatly deceived. The romance, courage and genius exhibited in FREMONT, are far more than a match for the old Federalism or conservative character of BUCHANAN. In the former there was every thing to gain the affections of the people. In the latter, nothing.

So commenced the canvass. The election in the South developed the consolidating strength of the slave oligarchy in favor of BUCHANAN. The cry of disunion, treason, and every other word of

folly and timidity, and of bullying, was hurled forth to overcome the friends of Freedom. Then came the elections of Iowa, Vermont and Maine, scattering the whole mist of delusion which politicians had artfully raised. The truth appeals many, and brings others to the slow and painful conviction that the Democratic party of the North is dissolved and melted into a higher party of the people.

The elections of the Free States were, however, not yet fully understood; and we give the following facts for the consideration of those who would like to know "how it goes?" In the following figures, we place under the head of "opposition" not only the Democrats, but the Whig ticket, or any other not polled for Republicans. The result for the two last years, in majorities were as follows:

1855. 1856.

Rep. Oppos. Rep. Oppos.

Maine 7,500 20,000

Iowa 4,400 7,900

Vt. 10,000 21,000

Ag. 14,000 48,000

Increase of Repub. maj. 400 per cent.

The entire vote of 1855, 235,000

The entire vote of 1856, 250,000

Increase of vote, 250,000

Republican vote, in 1855, 250,000

on the whole vote, 34 per cent.

Republican vote, in 1856, 250,000

on the whole vote, 13 per cent.

Increase of maj. on the whole vote, 14 do.

We have, then, these facts developed in these States, not contiguous to one another:

First, That the whole vote is greatly enlarged.

Secondly, That the Republican majority is enlarged in nearly equal ratio.

Now reasoning from the only facts we have, why should not this be the case throughout the Free States? That it will be so in New England and the North West, there seems no reason to doubt. But it is said, and that seems to be the only fact worthy of consideration in this aspect of the case, that the running of a Filmore ticket in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, &c., will cause sufficient division to elect the Buchanan ticket. Let us try this, by the only standard we have—past facts. No general election has been held in Indiana since 1854, when the Anti-Slavery majority was 14,900. Now, the increase of the Republican majority in Iowa, Vermont and Maine, on the whole vote was 13 per cent., 13,000. Now we have an idea that the Filmore vote will reach half that, or even one-third, even if all taken from the Anti-Slavery side, which is impossible. We suppose that in fact the vote of Indiana will stand something like this:

Whole vote, 230,000

Republican vote, 120,000

Buchanan vote, 105,000

Filmore vote, 5,000

If the Filmore vote be doubled it will make no difference in the result.

The same principles of calculation will give the Republicans 15,000 majority in Pennsylvania, and 30,000 in New York. But here is another view of the matter. What right have we to suppose that the great current of public opinion will cease to run between this and November? The tide is still rising, and it is perfectly certain that the majority for Fremont in the States mentioned will be greater than it was for the State ticket.

We have thrown together these facts as suggestive material for those who ask, "How goes the battle?" In 1854 we had an universal Anti-Slavery majority in the Free States. It is likely to be less in 1856. Leaving the Filmore vote out of view, the Republican majority over Buchanan in the Free States can hardly be less than three hundred and fifty thousand, and may be more.

In this statement we predict nothing. We only give the ground of calculation. There are events and circumstances continually arising of which we know nothing, and of which we cannot speak with any certainty, but of the actual, existing current of opinion we have at least the evidence of current events. They cannot be deceived by doling, nor bridged out of existence.

If Col. Fremont be elected the slave controversy will practically be ended. No further attempt will be made at boldlying Freedom into submission. The Union will be safe and the country at peace. On the other hand, if Fremont be not elected, it only prolongs the controversy. The battle of Freedom will last while the extension of Slavery is attempted or permitted on a single foot of American territory.

THE CONSTITUTION AND SLAVERY.

We had intended writing an article on the above subject, but find the following in the Fort Wayne Journal, of the 23d ult., prepared to our hand. It is a correct exposition of the position of the Democratic party at this time, as we understand the arguments of its orators and presses:

"By what law does slavery exist in Kansas?" is a question we have often asked our Democratic leaders. Our says 'by no law—but if the slaveholder takes his slaves there, he must run his risk of losing them.' Another says 'the Fugitive Slave Law holds them.' Another says 'the compact.' Well, what compact my good friends? 'Oh the compact!' and he is so full of 'compact' that it's all a 'muddle.' But being really anxious to know what doctrine the great and 'ever consistent' Democratic party does hold upon this deeply interesting subject, we

have pushed the inquiry by suggesting that the party creed made the Constitution carry slavery in its ample folds to the limits of our Territories; which has invariably been met by exhibitions of anger and the charge that we were slandering the Democratic party.

Freedom of Indiana! the Democratic party do make the Constitution foster, not & legalize it in all our territories. Do you want proof? Slavery exists in Kansas today; Major S. Edsall says it was there six years ago. Washington Irving says it is there. Hundreds of others say it is there. The Kansas Legislature passed the bloodiest code of laws ever put upon a statute book, to protect it there. Now, how came it there, and what legalized it? Did the Kansas Nebraska act establish it. Its 'true intent and meaning is not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory. Did the people of Kansas establish it? They are precluded by the organic act from taking any action upon the subject whatever, until they organize a State Constitution. Now, then, is slavery established or legalized in Kansas? The answer comes up from every Southern Democrat, with united voice; 'the Constitution carries it there.' And James Buchanan will receive the electoral vote of every Southern State as sound upon this interpretation of that sacred instrument.

Every Democratic paper, and every Democratic speaker, south of Mason & Dixon's line, claims this as the only true interpretation of the Constitution.

While the whole party at the North, papers, speakers and all, without exception, from Cass and Douglas down to every one horse orator at a cross road, and from the Jeffersonian (the Sentinel is below beginning) up to the Journal of Commerce, protest that there is no power to prohibit slavery from going into any territory—that prohibition is unconstitutional. In the name of truth and justice, then, will our Northern Democracy tell us why it is unconstitutional to prohibit slavery in any territory, unless the constitution establishes it there; and if the constitution establishes it, what right have the people—a majority of the people—to exclude it by a Free State Constitution? It will not do to say that the people are sovereign, and can mould their own institutions as they please. There are constitutional limits to their sovereignty. It is not enough that a State Constitution is republican in form, it must not conflict with the Constitution of the United States. Now, if the Constitution legalizes and establishes slavery, as the Democratic party claim—if it was ordained to perpetuate slavery—what right has Indiana to say that Governor Allen, of South Carolina, shall not bring his 3,000 slaves to Allen county to grow, and hold them here in perpetual bondage? Now, clearly, emphatically, none. And it is clearly the duty of the Supreme Court of the United States, at the earliest opportunity, to declare the prohibition of slavery by the constitutions of the Northern States, 'imperative and void' because conflicting with the national compact.

And, indeed, the Supreme Court has already given indications of coming to such a decision. Judge Kane (Wheeler vs. Williamson) decided that a slaveholder had the right to hold his slaves in transit in a free State. And the Supreme Court in effect, decided that a child born in a free Territory—the mother being there by full consent of the master—could be held as a slave.

But the Democratic party, as if fearing that the true issue before the American people might be misunderstood, and apparently to put the matter beyond all controversy, called a grand Mass Meeting at Philadelphia, Sept. 17th, to celebrate the adoption of the Constitution, and promulgate their views of it. Ex-Governor Johnson was the principal orator of the day. In a speech two hours and a half long, which was received with immense applause, he emphatically claimed that the South had just as much right under the constitution to take their slaves to Kansas, as the North to take their own.

Freedom of Indiana! the issue is before you—it is the extension of slavery—no slavery. Are you in favor of it?—The New York Sun says there is not a single Democrat in the North opposed to it. If you are in favor of it, vote for James Buchanan. You can rely upon him. Gov. Wise says (and the whole South endorses it,) that Mr. Buchanan shows the 'clearest record in favor of slavery of any man North or South.

This is the issue now, if you succeed in electing your biped platform for President during the next four years; and the next issue that the Southern master will demand of you, will be, that slavery cannot be prohibited in any State. And the next after that, will be to withhold the elective franchise, and any share in the government from the laboring class. It is dangerous, says the South, to allow the dirty farmer and greasy mechanic to vote.

THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

Gov. Wm. F. Johnson Declining the American Nomination.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Aug. 29, 1856.

To F. H. Ruggles, and S. M. Allen, Chairman and Corresponding Secretary of the American National Committee.

MY DEAR SIR: Patriotism demands of the American party its disapprobation of the measures of the present National Administration, as well as the defeat of those who have willingly and cheerfully

endorsed and are pledged to support its domestic policy.

Its selection of agents to, and their management of our affairs at other Courts has justly rendered it obnoxious to the condemnation of the American people. When the present Administration assumed the conduct of our domestic affairs, all causes of sectional strife had been removed, and peace and fraternal concord existed among the States and people of the confederacy.

With a controlling influence of all departments of government, we are informed by the admissions and declarations of its friends and advocates, that at this moment discord, sectional strife and angry agitation, dangerous to the permanency of our cherished Union, have been brought upon the country. These evil things are justly attributable to its action and ambition.

Our character among the nations of the earth has been degraded by the announcement on the part of its employees that our Government was unwilling or unable to control and check the rapacious longings for the possession of neighboring and weaker nations, falsely admitted to exist among our citizens.

The revenues of the country have been devoted to sustain a wasteful and extravagant administration of our affairs, whilst appropriations for the judicious improvement of our rivers and harbors have been resisted and refused; a Territory of the United States has been desolated and depopulated by civil broils, and within its borders laws have been enacted and others adjudged to exist and attempted to be enforced by the Government that are destructive of the sacred rights of a free people.

To restore the Government to its legitimate purposes—to preserve the Union and Constitution from dissolution and destruction—to re-establish the high reputation of our country abroad for fair dealing and just action towards other nations—to devote our surplus revenues to national improvements required for the security of commerce and the safety of travel—to preserve to free labor the vast and fertile plains of Kansas in obedience to the compacts of a purer and wiser generation—to abrogate unjust, tyrannical and wicked laws, and to protect the citizen against the odious doctrine of constructive judicial reasons—would seem to be the dictate of rational patriotism and enlightened humanity.

To effect the entire condemnation of these monstrous abuses and usurpations, the defeat of the nominees of the Cincinnati Convention is an admitted necessity.

To accomplish this desirable result, united action must be secured among the opponents of the national administration.

Believing that the American party, whose candidate for the Vice Presidency, I became by the action of the New York Convention, coincides in these views, and that their candidate for the Presidency will carry them into effect, and feeling that it has heretofore made every effort that the correction of these wrongs demanded of it, to secure harmony of action among the opponents of the national administration, and convinced that it is still willing to place upon the altar of our country's welfare all its preferences for men, and knowing that in the event of success its sacrifices and exertions will be respected and regarded, and with a full knowledge that in all its actions, it has been and will be controlled more by a desire for the public welfare than by any selfish or partisan motive, I do not hesitate to appeal to the patriotism, that 'for the sake of the cause' and for the removal of all grounds of disaffection, my name may be withdrawn as a candidate for the highly important office with which the partiality of my friends, undesired on my part, has connected me. If this is done we shall have the proud satisfaction of knowing that so far as our party could control events, no cause for distraction and dissension can be charged upon us. Should the Committee decide that it possesses no power to act in the premises, I shall consider it my duty to assume the responsibility of declaring this letter a withdrawal of my name from the list of candidates. It may be excused in me, so lately honored by your confidence, to venture a few